

One Novel and Multiple Voices: Tackling Euphemism in Five Arabic Translations of *Animal Farm*

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Abstract—This study investigates the processes used by George Orwell in the formation of euphemism in *Animal Farm* and examines how far five Arabic translations of the novel succeed in conveying the euphemistic purposes of the Source text, and the euphemism formation procedures used in these translations. There are plenty of studies on euphemism and on the novel, but not a single study on translating euphemism in *Animal Farm*, hence this study. Twenty euphemistic expressions are classified based on Warren's 1992 model and their five Arabic translations are analyzed. The study finds that 95% of the expressions are rendered literally and succeed in rendering the intended meaning, maintaining the same device. The study also finds that Orwell uses a device that is not categorized in Warren's 1992 classification of euphemism innovation model and therefore it is defined and labelled as "Overstatement Paraphrasing".

Index Terms—*Animal Farm*, Arabic, Euphemism, Orwell, translation

I. INTRODUCTION

This study investigates how euphemism is translated from English into Arabic in five Arabic translations of George Orwell's *Animal Farm* in light of the classification of Warren (1992) for euphemism creation. Chief among rhetorical devices to avoid loss of face or upgrade the denotatum, euphemism is an effective politeness strategy used pervasively in many aspects of life. According to Holder (2008), euphemism is a polite word or expression used instead of a more direct one when someone is talking about something unpleasant or embarrassing, adding that euphemisms are considered 'the language of evasion, hypocrisy, prudery and deceit' as they manipulate the meaning of words or phrases to make them sound more pleasant, which is a view shared also by Allan and Burrige (1991). According to Radulović (2012), there are two types of euphemisms: positive and negative euphemism; the former is used to make the euphemized items sound more impressive, more acceptable, or more important than they really are, such as using 'senior citizens' instead of 'old people', while the latter decreases negative connotations that are associated with negative phenomena such as war, crime, and poverty. This type of euphemism is more commonly used than positive euphemism. Despite the differences among various cultures in terms of the extent, context, and frequency of euphemism use, this study assumes that euphemism is a universal phenomenon that is used by all humans. This variation is noted among different social entities that have different tolerant positions towards taboo and hurtful expressions or behaviors, which could be attributed to several factors, including religious, cultural and political ones.

This study is intended for translation studies researchers, professional translators, language students, researchers in literature, and those interested in comparative/contrastive studies. Moreover, proving that literally translated structures can still hold euphemisms, machine translation researchers and programmers can also benefit from this study in the making of their algorithms designed for the rendering of euphemistic expressions, particularly between the language pair (English-Arabic).

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

There are plenty of researches on the Arabic translation of *Animal Farm*. Due to the significance of the novel, it is translated into scores of languages. In Arabic alone, there are at least 16 translations that have been published since the original novel's publication in 1945. In general, *Animal Farm* is vastly studied from a literary perspective and as an icon of allegory fiction, with plenty of political allusions and insinuations. There is also considerable research on the linguistic aspects of the novel. However, due to limitation of space, this section sheds light on samples of the previous

studies on *Animal Farm* and on euphemism in Arabic translation to highlight the general research approaches on both the novel and euphemism in general.

Abdel Gafour (2021) investigates manipulation in translation theory applied to two translations of Orwell’s *Animal Farm*, interpreting the findings in light of the view that translation is a rewriting of dominant ideology. The study concludes that each target text shows one dominant type of manipulation based on several factors, including the dominant ideology. Yahya and Ibrahim (2020) probe the Arabic translation of motion verbs in two translations of the novel, investigating the different techniques used by the translators. Al-Jurani and Ibrahim (2020) assess metaphor translation in four translations of *Animal Farm*, hypothesizing that a translators’ backgrounds and ideologies shape their translations; this view is also shared by Bani Abdo (2020) in his study on translating metaphor in the novel in two different Arabic translations.

There is also extensive research on translating euphemism. For example, Farghal (1995) probes the main devices used by Arabic speakers when they tend to euphemize, employing the pragmatic theories and models developed by Grice and Leech, opening the door for analyzing euphemism using pragmatic tools. Al-Shawi (2013) posits the use of theories of pragmatics, such as the Relevance Theory, to better understand the techniques used in translating euphemism into Arabic, suggesting several strategies for a better translation for euphemistic expressions. Al-Adwan (2015, p. 19) examines the use of euphemism as a linguistic politeness strategy in the Arabic subtitled version of ‘Friends’, arguing that “euphemism as a politeness strategy plays a vital role in establishing and promoting a smoother and friction-free form of interaction in the Arabic subtitles of Friends”. Anber and Swear (2016) explore how sociocultural expressions affect translating euphemisms in the Arabic translation of “A Grain of Wheat”, adopting a qualitative approach. Furthermore, Almijrab (2020) investigates using euphemism techniques to address the English-Arabic translation of taboos, with a focus on cultural untranslatability. In addition, there are plenty of studies on euphemisms in the Holy Quran. For example, Al-Hamad and Salman (2013) investigate the issue of translating Qur’anic euphemisms into English and conclude that euphemism translation is problematic for its cultural and linguistic diversity. Nonetheless, Olimat (2019, p. 16) finds that “Sex and death are the most common euphemistic topics in the Qur’an, while feelings, divorce and pregnancy are the least frequent euphemistic topics”.

Despite the extensive research on *Animal Farm* and euphemism, no research is conducted on euphemism in the novel, to the best knowledge of the researchers, and hence the significance of this study. Therefore, this study seeks to answer the following two research questions:

- 1- What are the processes used by George Orwell for the formation of euphemisms in *Animal Farm* in light of Warren’s (1992) classification for euphemism innovation?
- 2- How far did the five Arabic translators succeed in conveying the euphemistic purposes of the ST, and what are the euphemism formation procedures used in their translations?

III. DATA SOURCES

Written during World War II, *Animal Farm* is a satirical political beast fable. Based on the events of Russia's Bolshevik revolution, this allegorical novel tells the story of a group of farm animals trying to live in peace after they revolted against their exploitative human masters to establish a new egalitarian society where all animals can be equal and free. The main idea of this novel is to present the example of how socialism began to take root to become a dictatorial communism.

This study selects five Arabic translations of *Animal Farm*. The criteria for selecting these translations include acceptability and cultural background diversity of the translators. As the researchers have no preferences of one translation over the others, table 1 below shows the codes given to the translations, noting that they are ordered chronologically based on the date of publication of the copies used in this study:

TABLE 1
CODES FOR TRANSLATIONS

Code	Translation	Date
T1	Alfadhl	1997
T2	Abadhah	2009
T3	Al-Eraimi	2011
T4	Abdul Ghani	2014
T5	International Publishing House	2016

IV. METHODOLOGY

Warren (1992) proposes two main categories for euphemism formation: formal and semantic innovations. Formal innovation includes “word formation devices” such as compounding of two words together, blending parts of two words to coin a new word, or imitating the sound of the action to coin a new word. New innovations may involve “phonemic modifications” of already existing words by letter reversal or making word rhyming. Semantic innovation involves eight categories which are: particularization, implication, metonymy, metaphor, reversal, understatement, overstatement, and paraphrasing.

Because *Animal Farm* is revolutionary in nature, only twenty (20) euphemistic expressions can be found in the novel. They are classified, according to the device used in the euphemistic expression, into 7 categories, as illustrated in table 2 below, which answers the first research question, arranged by number of occurrences:

TABLE 2
OCCURRENCES OF EUPHEMISM

Sr.	Device	Number of Occurrences
1	Understatement	7
2	Overstatement	4
3	Metonymy	4
4	Implication	2
5	Paraphrasing	1
6	Reversal	1
7	New Device	1
Total		20

The Arabic counterparts of the expressions from the five translations are collected, and the devices used in the translation are identified, and therefore the data are ready to be analyzed and mapped with the formal and semantic innovations used for euphemism formation, as modelled by Warren (1992).

All the excerpts of each device are analyzed, either individually or collectively, to examine how euphemisms are employed in the novel, and how far do the five Arabic translations succeed in conveying the euphemistic effect. The analysis starts with the English euphemistic expression, as a brief description of the context is given, coupled with an analysis of the euphemism based on Warren's framework. This part is followed by a table with the five Arabic translations and the devices used, followed by a commentary on the devices used.

V. ANALYSIS

A. Understatement

In understatement, the euphemism is used to downplay the referent euphemized for such as 'drug habit' as a euphemism for 'drug addiction'.

EXCERPT 1

English Euphemism	Device
To that <i>horror</i> we all must come — cows, pigs, hens, sheep, everyone. P. 8	Understatement

In this excerpt, Old Major, a clever and persuasive pig, spurs the rebellion with his rhetorical skills and ability to persuade other animals to share his displeasure, employing the euphemistic expression "horror" instead of "murder/killing". Although the word 'horror' may still sound dysphemistic, this excerpt shows that context is a key factor in deciding where expressions are located on the euphemism or dysphemism scale. The following table illustrates the Arabic translations and the devices used:

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
كلنا مقبل ولا بد على مثل هذا الرعب: الأبقار والخنازير، والدجاج، والأغنام، الكلاب بلا استثناء. ص. ١٩	هذا هو المصير المرعب الذي يهددكم جميعاً من أبقار وخنازير وغنم وغيرها. ص. ١٢	من أجل هذا الرعب والوحشية في المعاملة، يجب أن نتحد أبقار وخنازير، ودجاج، وخراف. ص. ٦	وأمام هذه الفظاعة وهذه النهاية، كلنا مرغمون، أبقاراً وخنازير، خرافاً ودجاجاً، ولا أحد معفي من ذلك. ص. ١٩	لا بد أن نصل جميعاً إلى هذه النهاية المرعبة؛ الجميع الأبقار، الخنازير، الدجاج، الخرفان؛ ص. ١٦
Understatement	Understatement	Understatement	Understatement	Understatement

In all the five translations, understatement is used, employing derivations of the word "horror", such as (الرعب - المرعب - المرعبة), except T4, who uses the word (brutality/الفظاعة), which is still an understatement for killing.

EXCERPT 2

English Euphemism	Device
Even the horses and the dogs have no better <i>fate</i> . P. 8	Understatement

This quote is a part of Old Major's powerful speech to the animals, in which he euphemistically explains to them that even horses and dogs would be eventually slaughtered. He employs understatement using the word "fate" to mean death. The following table illustrates the Arabic translations and the devices used:

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
حتى الجياد والكلاب فلن يكون مصيرها أفضل. ص. ١٩	حتى الخيل والكلاب فهي ليست أسعد منا حظاً ص. ١٢	وحتى الخيول والكلاب لن تكون أوفر حظاً ص. ٦	وحتى الخيول والكلاب ليس لها مصير آخر تحسد عليه. ص. ١٩	وحتى الأحصنة والكلاب لا تواجه مصيراً أفضل من ذلك. ص. ١٦
Understatement	Understatement	Understatement	Understatement	Understatement

In Excerpt 2, T2 and T3 use the word (luck/ حظ) to render the word “fate”, whereas the other translations render the word literally using (fate/ مصير). Either way, euphemism is conveyed and the same device of understatement found in the ST is maintained in the translation.

EXCERPT 3

English Euphemism	Device
For the time being, certainly, it had been found necessary to make a <i>readjustment</i> of rations (Squealer always spoke of it as a “readjustment,” never as a “reduction”). P. 84	Understatement

When the pigs start acting better than the other animals, despite the farm's ideas of equality, they start to take more and give less as the story unfolds. Nonetheless, to keep the animals from becoming rebelling, Squealer employs euphemism to persuade them that they were not receiving less food than they had under human rule. Squealer always refers to the decrease in food portions as "readjustments," but never as "reductions", employing the device of ‘understatement’. The following table illustrates the Arabic translations and the devices used:

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
وتبين في الأونة الحالية، بدون شك، أن الضرورة تستلزم إجراء تعديل على الحصص (كان سكويلر يشير إلى ذلك دائماً على أنه "تعديل" وليس "تخفيض" إطلاقاً) ص. ١٧٧	وكان سكويلر يصر على استعمال كلمة <i>التعديل</i> في المقررات الغذائية بدلاً من لفظ <i>الإنقاص</i> . ص. ٩٤	ومثلما فعل في المرات الماضية لم يجد سكويلر صعوبة في إقناع الحيوانات أن الضرورة تحتم <i>تعديل</i> الحصص. ص. ٥٣	وقد تبين في اللحظة الراهنة أنه من الضروري إجراء <i>تعديل</i> على الحصص (كان سكويلر يتحدث دائماً عن "تعديل" وليس "تخفيض") ص. ١١٦	ففي الوقت الحالي بالتأكيد، وجد أنه من الضروري إجراء <i>تعديل</i> على حصص الطعام ص. ١٨٢
Understatement	Understatement	Understatement	Understatement	Understatement

In Excerpt 3, all the translators maintain the euphemism, employing the same device of understatement. However, it is noted that T1, T2 and T4 follow the steps of the author and translate the word “reduction” that is meant to be euphemized in this excerpt in a literal way (تخفيض - إنقاص), while T3 and T5 ignore translating the word, employing the translation technique known as translation by omission.

EXCERPT 4

English Euphemism	Device
What they should do if their Leader were <i>taken away</i> from them? P. 81	Understatement

After Mr. Frederick and a group of armed men attack the farm and blow up the entire windmill, the animals hear whispers that Napoleon is dying, but he recovers few hours later. Instead of using the word (die or death), the author uses the euphemism "taken away" as an understatement of death, augmenting his argument with the use of the impossible conditional. The following table illustrates the Arabic translations and the devices used:

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
وتساءلت فيما بينها والدموع في مآقيها ماذا ستفعل إذا رحل القائد عنها؟ ص. ١٦٩	كانت تسأل بعضها البعض والدموع في مآقيها عن مصيرها إذا مات الزعيم! ص. ٩١	تساءلت الحيوانات فيما بينها كيف ستصير حياتها في غياب القائد نابولين. ص. ٥١	سألت الحيوانات بعضها، وعبثتها مليئة بالدموع، عما ينبغي فعله في حالة رحيل القائد. ص. ١١٢	سألوا بعضهم ما الذي ينبغي عليهم فعله إذا أخذ القائد منهم ص. ١٧٤
Understatement	Non-euphemistic	Understatement	Understatement	Understatement

In Excerpt 4, all the translators use the same device of understatement. However, T1 and T4 render the euphemism with variants of the Arabic euphemism expressions (departure/ رحيل), while T3 uses the Arabic euphemism (absence/ غياب); meanwhile, T2 ignores the euphemism and renders it bluntly using the word (died/ مات).

EXCERPTS 5 AND 6

English Euphemism	Device
(...) <i>superannuated</i> animals. P. 83	Understatement
(...) <i>superannuated</i> animals. P. 95	Understatement

A "superannuated" animal means the one that is getting old. The novel says that these animals are promised a pasture that is specifically walled off for them and a set daily amount of food. The euphemistic word "superannuated" appears twice in the novel to signify that animals were not assigned work when they age; nevertheless, they are sold for a good price.

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
للحيوانات الكبيرة في السن. ص. ١٧٦	للمحاليين إلى المعاش ص. 94	للحيوانات المتقاعدة ص. 53	الحيوانات التي ستحال إلى التقاعد ص. 116	للحيوانات المتقاعدة ص. 182
للمسنين ص. ١٩٩	الإحالة إلى التقاعد ص. 107	للحيوانات المتقاعدة ص. 60	للمسنين ص. 131	للحيوانات المتقاعدة ص. 206
Understatement	Understatement	Understatement	Understatement	Understatement

All the translators have rendered the SL euphemism “superannuated” with euphemized Arabic equivalents in different variants of the used words such as (الكبيرة في السن – المسنين – المعاش – التقاعد), using the same device of understatement. It is noted that T3 and T5 are consistent, repeating the exact word, while the other three translators use different words. Aging is a taboo, and therefore euphemism is always used when talking about it; for example, certain seats in public transportation are reserved for ‘Senior Citizens’, which is a softer term than ‘Old People’. It is also noted that the term is translated in T2 as (المعاش - التقاعد), which are synonyms and can be used interchangeably to denote retirement; however, they are not used with the same degree in all the Arabic speaking countries, and therefore consistency in this matter is preferable.

EXCERPT 7

English Euphemism	Device
(...) during Boxer's last hours. P. 92	Understatement

When Boxer becomes too ill as a result of the hard and rigorous labor he conducts without question, the pigs abandon him, sending him away to be slaughtered. Nonetheless, the writer uses the euphemistic expression "last hours" instead of "death/dying" perhaps to play on emotions. The Arabic translations and the used devices are illustrated in the following table:

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
ساعات بوكسر الأخيرة ص. 194	لحظاته الأخيرة ص. 104	خلال ساعاته الأخيرة ص. 59	لحظات بوكسر الأخيرة ص. 127	في ساعته الأخيرة ص. 200
Understatement	Understatement	Understatement	Understatement	Understatement

All the five translators use the same understatement device for euphemism, following the footsteps of the author. Although a literal translation approach is adopted in the translation of this excerpt, the translators use two different words to express the euphemized death, namely (hour/ ساعة and moments/ لحظات).

B. Overstatement

On the contrary of understatement, overstatement upgrades the referent, such as the euphemism ‘housekeeper/servant’ for ‘house maid’.

EXCERPT 8

English Euphemism	Device
“Loyalty and obedience are more important”. P. 43	Overstatement

In Excerpt 8, the persona of Squealer is used to spread information and misinformation to the farm's non-pig animals. When he becomes Napoleon's right-hand after taking control, Squealer gives speeches to promote Napoleon's ambitions and lies. Squealer is constantly manipulating words and employing euphemisms to persuade animals and evoke positive sentiments from them. He utilizes the words "loyalty and obedience" while the underlying objective of these words is servitude. The used device can be classified as an overstatement, which is similar to using empty slogans in political campaigns. The following table illustrates the five Arabic translations and the devices used in each of them:

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
فالإخلاص والطاعة أكثر أهمية. ص. ٩٦	الإخلاص والطاعة هي أكثر أهمية. ص. ٤٨	الولاء والطاعة أهم من ذلك. ص. ٢٧	الولاء والطاعة لهما أولوية. ص. ٦٤	الأهم هو الولاء والطاعة. ص. ٩٢
Overstatement	Overstatement	Overstatement	Overstatement	Overstatement

All the translators tended to translate this excerpt literally, adopting the same device used by the writer.

EXCERPT 9

English Euphemism	Device
(...) the hoof and horn signified the future <i>Republic of the Animals</i> which would arise when the human race had been finally overthrown. P. 24	overstatement

Snowball claims that the Republic of the Animals is the inevitable future government to be established after defeating humans. Pigs use euphemism to regulate and explain their actions to other animals, calling the farm "Republic" to maintain power and authority over all the other animals. This type of euphemism utilizes ‘overstatement’ to cover the pigs' true goals and justify their acts. The following table illustrates the five Arabic translations and the devices used in each of them:

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
أما بالنسبة للحافر والقرن فهما يمثلان جمهورية الحيوان التي ستنهض حين يطاح بالجنس البشري في النهاية. ص. 56	وأما الحافر والقرن فهما رمز لجمهورية الحيوان التي هي النواة للجمهورية إذا ما انقلب الحكم الإنساني كله في إنجلترا! ص. 30	في حين يعبر القرن والحافر عن جمهورية الحيوان القادمة ص. 17	والقرن والحافر إلى الجمهورية القادمة التي سيعلم فيها رسميا الانقلاب على الجنس البشري. ص. 40	بينما يعبر الحافر والقرن عن جمهورية الحيوانات المستقبلية التي ستقوم عقب الإطاحة بالجنس البشري في النهاية ص. 52
Overstatement	Overstatement	Overstatement	Overstatement	Overstatement

Although all the five translators employ overstatement as a euphemizing device, four of them adopt a literal translation approach and render “Republic of the Animals” as “جمهورية الحيوان – الحيوانات” except T4, who adopts here a functional approach, rendering it as “The Coming Republic/ الجمهورية القادمة”, while omitting the word (animal) to augment the euphemism structure.

EXCERPT 10

English Euphemism	Device
Wild Comrades' Re-education Committee P. 25	Overstatement

When Snowball starts forming Animal Committees, one of the committees he establishes is the “Wild Comrades' Re-education Committee” to tame the rats and rabbits. The paradox is that "taming" is commonly used with animals, but "education" is not. To euphemize the name of the committee and soften the word “taming”, the author uses overstatement. The Arabic translations and the used devices are illustrated in the following table:

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
لجنة/عادة تربية الرفاق البريين ص. 57	لجنة الوحوش البرية ص. 30	جمعية تعليم الحيوانات البرية ص. 17	لجنة/عادة التربية خاصة بالرفاق الأحرار في الطبيعة ص. 41	لجنة/عادة تعليم الرفاق البريين ص. 54
Overstatement	Omission	Overstatement	Paraphrasing	Overstatement

The translators adopted several techniques: while three of them use overstatement as a euphemizing device, following the steps of Orwell in a nearly-literal translation, T2 uses to adopt a translation by omission technique and T4 uses the paraphrasing euphemism device, employing translation by addition technique as the translation adds (الرفاق) to attempt to upgrade the committee, which is upgraded in the ST with overstatement. Although T3 uses overstatement as a euphemism device, the translator augmented the intended meaning by changing “committee/ اللجنة” into “Society or Co-Op/ جمعية”.

EXCERPT 11

English Euphemism	Device
(...) appreciates the sacrifice. P. 43	Overstatement

The context of this utterance is that Napoleon bars Snowball from the farm because he desires to rule over everyone, and so Napoleon commands the violent dogs to attack Snowball. When Squealer offers this explanation to all the animals, he uses his manipulative diction along with his usage of euphemism to justify Napoleon’s action, giving all the animals the impression that Napoleon is a respectable, meritorious, and positive individual. Hiding the truth beneath a deceitful lie, Squealer uses negative manipulation through euphemism for acquiring possession by force and fear. The Arabic translations and the used devices are illustrated in the following table:

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
يحد/التضحية التي قام بها. ص. 95	تفهم مدى تضحية الرفيق ص. 48	تقدرون التضحيات ص. 27	يقدر التضحيات التي قدمها ص. 64	تقدر التضحية التي قام بها ص. 92
Overstatement	Overstatement	Overstatement	Overstatement	Overstatement

The translators follow the same euphemism device used by the writer, with very slight variations of the word used, i.e., (تضحية – التضحية - التضحيات).

C. Metonymy

Typically, metonymy is substituting a name with one of its attributes such as “wheels” for “vehicle”. As a euphemism device, metonymy can be found when there is a relationship between the euphemism and the referent euphemized for, like the “co-occurrence” of cause and effect, for example.

EXCERPT 12

English Euphemism	Device
But no animal escapes the cruel knife in the end. P. 8	Metonymy

Old Major describes the destiny of all farm animals as unescapable slaughter by the "cruel knife" of the farmer, no matter how hard they work or how vital they believe they are to the farm. The writer attempts to mitigate the word "slaughter" by using the euphemistic expression "cruel knife", which is a typical utilization of ‘metonymy’ for

euphemistic purposes as a cruel knife would only “cause” the “effect” of slaughter. The following table illustrates the five Arabic translations and the devices used in each of them:

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
لكن ما من حيوان ينجو من السكين القاسية في النهاية ص. 19	إلا أنه فيما يتعلق بكم فما من حيوان سينجو من حد السكين في نهاية المطاف! ص. 12	فلن يفلت منا أحد من وحشية حد السكين ص. 6	لكن في النهاية لا يفلت أي حيوان من السكين الكريه ص. 18	ولكن لم ينج حيوان قط من نصل السكين القاسي في نهاية المطاف ص. 16
Metonymy	Metonymy	Metonymy	Metonymy	Metonymy

All the five translations follow the same device of metonymy, walking on the footsteps of the author.

EXCERPTS 13, 14 AND 15

English Euphemism	Device
Whatever goes upon <i>two legs</i> is an enemy. Whatever goes upon <i>four legs</i> , or <i>has wings</i> , is a friend. P.9	Metonymy
“ <i>Four legs good, two legs bad.</i> ” P. 27	Metonymy
“ <i>Four legs good, two legs BETTER!</i> ” P. 100	Metonymy

In Excerpt 13, Napoleon, Snowball, and Squealer, decide to develop a formal school of thought based on Old Major's speech. They call the concept Animalism and develop the Seven Commandments, which outline the principles of Animalism. The euphemisms are found in the first and second commandments ‘Whatever goes upon two legs is an enemy. Whatever goes upon four legs, or has wings, is a friend’. These two metonymy euphemisms create the notion of Animalism. The author uses the euphemistic expression ‘goes upon two legs’ to indicate humans and ‘Goes upon four legs or has wings’ to refer to animals and birds. Excerpt 14 portrays a slogan that sheep always repeat: “Four legs good, two legs bad”. Orwell demonstrates that the sheep are prompted to interrupt Snowball's speeches at key points to indicate that euphemistic slogans are effective tools employed by the intellectually superior to influence the inferior. This euphemism adopts the same metonymic image already mentioned in Excerpt 13. However, the paradox comes when Napoleon is seen walking on two legs, rather than four. Then, the Seven Commandments are altered. In excerpt 15, the sheep started singing the new slogan: ‘Four legs good, two legs BETTER!’ In this slogan, “two legs” is a euphemism to indicate pigs after they started to walk like humans. The following table illustrates the five Arabic translations of the three excerpts and the devices used in each of them:

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
كل من يسير على قدمين هو عدو. وكل من يسير على أربعة أقدام أو له أجنحة فهو صديق ص. 22	كل من يذب على قدمين اثنتين عدو لنا، وكل ما يمشي على أربع أو يطير صديق لنا. ص. 13	من يمشي على رجلين فهو عدو، ومن يمشي على أربعة أو يطير فهو صديق. ص. 7	العدو هو كل من يمشي على قدمين، والصديق هو من يمشي على أربع أو يطير. ص. 21	أي كائن يسير على قدمين هو عدو لنا. وأي كائن يسير على أربع أو يطير بجناحين هو صديق لنا. ص. 18
Metonymy	Metonymy	Metonymy	Metonymy	Metonymy
الخير في الأقدام الأربعة والسوء في قدمين ص. 60	نوات الأربع أخبار! نوو القدمين أشرا! ص. ٣٢	الخير في نوات السيقان الأربعة والشر في نوات الساقين ص. ١٨	نعم لنوات السيقان الأربعة، لا لنوات الساقين ص. ٤٣	الخير في أربع أقدام، الشر في قدمين ص. ٥٦
Metonymy	Metonymy	Metonymy	Metonymy	Metonymy
الخير في الأقدام الأربعة، والخير الأكثر في القدمين ص. ٢٠٧	نوات الأربع أخبار! نوو الرجلين أفضل! ص. ١١٢	“أربع أقدام جيدة، قدامان أفضل!” ص. ٦٣	الخير في الأقدام الأربعة، والخير الأكثر في القدمين. ص. ١٣٧	الخير في أربع أقدام، وقدمان أفضل! ص. ٢١٦
Metonymy	Metonymy	Metonymy	Metonymy	Metonymy

The five translations of the three excerpts reflect strict adherence to literal translation, as all the translators use metonymy as the euphemism device in all the three excerpts.

D. Implication

Implication is a device used when there is a relationship between the euphemism and the word or expression euphemized for, such as ‘going to the toilet’ as a euphemism and ‘urinating’ as an action euphemized for.

EXCERPT 16

English Euphemism	Device
(...) not of <i>first-rate intelligence</i> . P. 5	Implication

Representing the Russian working class, Boxer is powerful, hardworking and loyal, but he is not particularly intelligent and relies on the pigs to think for him. Orwell describes his folly by euphemism through negating his intelligence, implying his weak mental skills. The following table portrays the five Arabic translations of the excerpt and the devices used in each of them:

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
لم يكن ذكيا من الدرجة الأولى ص. 13	سطحي التفكير ص. 8	نكاته المتواضع ص. 4	لم يكن “بوكسر” متفوقا ص. 14	لم يكن حاد الذكاء على أية حال ص. 8
Implication	Non-euphemistic	Non-euphemistic	Implication	Implication

Three translators use the same euphemism device of implicature and the same structure of negation. The other two, namely T2 and T3, ignore the negated structure and produced non-euphemistic translations that clearly describe Boxer as someone with a shallow mind and humble intelligence. Meanwhile, all other translators employ the same device of implication, using the same structure of negation.

EXCERPT 17

English Euphemism	Device
Boxer, the very day that those great muscles of yours <i>lose their power</i> P. 8	Implication

Old Major persuades Boxer that once he gets weak, Mr. Jones will kill him. He uses this euphemistic language to tug on the animals' heartstrings. The euphemism 'your big muscles lose their power' denotes 'weakness'. The following table portrays the five Arabic translations of the excerpt and the devices used in each of them:

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
فأنت يا بوكسر سيببئك جونز، في اليوم الذي ستفقد فيه قوة عضلاتك ص. 20	فأنت يا بوكسر حينما تذوي عضلاتك القوية ص. 12	Not translated ص. 6	أنت، يا "بوكسر" يوم تفقد عضلاتك الشهيرة قوتها ووظيفتها ص. 19	فأنت، يا بوكسر، حين يأتي اليوم الذي تفقد فيه عضلاتك قوتها ص. 16
Implication	Implication	Omission	Implication	Implication

Only one translator, namely T3, ignores translating this utterance entirely, while all the other translators adopt the same device of implication.

E. Paraphrasing

The device used when the euphemistic meaning is expressed in a circumlocutionary manner by way of explanation or giving definition with more neutral words is known as paraphrasing.

EXCERPT 18

English Euphemism	Device
Clover was a <i>stout</i> motherly mare approaching middle life, who had <i>never quite got her figure back after her fourth foal</i> . P. 5	Overstatement/Paraphrasing

Clover is a mare, and instead of describing her as fat, Orwell uses two euphemism devices: overstatement and paraphrasing. The word "stout" is an overstatement device, as it describes a heavily built person who is strong and healthy, and therefore it has a positive connotation and it can be used also as a compliment. The second device is paraphrasing as evident in the utterance 'who had never quite got her figure back after her fourth foal', which is a euphemism for being fat. The following table portrays the five Arabic translations of the excerpt and the devices used in each of them:

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
كانت كلوفر فرسة بدينة فيها أومة وتقترب من منتصف العمر، ولم تسترجع تماما قوامها بعد ولادة مهرها الرابع. ص. 13	وكلوفر فرس تقترب من منتصف عمرها تبدو عليها طيبة الأم ممثلة لم تستطع أن تستعيد رشاقته الأولى بعد أن وضعت مولودها الرابع. ص. 8	كانت كلوفر فرسا متوسطة العمر لم تحافظ على رشاقة جسدها بعد حملها الرابع ص. 4	كانت "كلوفر" فرسا رائعة متوسطة العمر، فقدت رشاقة جسدها الشاب منذ ولادة مهرها الرابع. ص. 14	كانت كلوفر مهرة سميئة على مشارف منتصف العمر، تبدو عليها مظاهر الأمومة، وكانت قد فشلت تماما في استعادة رشاقته بعدما أنجبت مهرها الرابع؛ ص. 8
Non-euphemistic/Paraphrasing	Overstatement/Paraphrasing	Omission/Paraphrasing	Omission & Addition/Paraphrasing	Non-euphemistic/Paraphrasing

The Arabic translators reacted differently to the first euphemism device of overstatement, as T2 translates the overstatement literally and maintains the same euphemism device, whereas T1 and T5 removed the euphemism entirely and translated the word "stout" as (بدينة - سميئة), focusing on the negative connotation of the word. Meanwhile, as T3 omits the word entirely, T4 replaces it with the word (رائعة/ marvelous) that strengthens the euphemism function in the utterance. When it comes to the second euphemism device of paraphrasing, the five translators adopt a literal translation approach, maintaining the device of paraphrasing in all the Arabic translations.

F. Reversal

As a euphemism device, reversal occurs when a fairly negative word is given a more positive meaning reversing its sense as in 'genius' for 'stupid' and 'crazy' for 'creative'.

EXCERPT 19

English Euphemism	Device
(...) <i>strictly voluntary</i> . P. 47	Reversal

Napoleon forces the animals to work like slaves by restricting their free time, telling them that extra work is voluntary but if one fails to participate, his ratios would be reduced to half. Napoleon gives the animals the impression that they have a "choice", claiming that their labor is entirely "voluntary", but in reality, they are forced to work. The writer uses "strictly voluntary" as a euphemism to indicate forced labor because those who would refuse to work would

have their rations cut in half. The following table portrays the five Arabic translations of the excerpt and the devices used in each of them:

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
عمل تطوعي تماماً ص. 103	التطوع وبمحض الاختيار الحر! ص. 53	تطوعاً ص. 30	بشكل تطوعي ص. 69	عمل تطوعي تماماً ص. 98
Reversal	Reversal	Reversal	Reversal	Reversal

All the Arabic translators use the same euphemistic device of 'reversal'. Although all of the translators use different variations of the word (تطوع), T2 adds (By free choice/ بمحض الاختيار الحر), while T1 and T5 add (Completely volunteer work/ عمل تطوعي تماماً) to augment the euphemism construction.

G. New Device

Using Warren's terms, the device in the following excerpt is a new device that is not included in the 1992 model. It employs more of a circumlocutory style to increase the euphemistic effect. In other words, if the number of words is increased not to mitigate the negative senses but rather to express the meaning in a more euphemistic way, then it can be called 'Overstatement Paraphrasing'.

EXCERPT 20

English Euphemism	Device
"(...) but he was still a majestic-looking pig, with a wise and benevolent appearance". P. 4	Overstatement Paraphrasing

This text occurs at the outset of novel when Old Major gathers the farm animals in the barn to share his strange dream with them. The writer describes him as overweight and obese, then softened this by adding the euphemistic expression: "(...) but was still a majestic-looking pig, with a wise and benevolent appearance".

The following table illustrates the five Arabic translations and the devices used in each of them:

T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
لكنه ما زال خنزيراً ابهى الطلعة، مع مظهره الحكيم الكريم الخير. ص. ١٢	وقد كست وجهه سمات الطبيعة ومظاهر المهابة والوقار والحكمة! ص. 7	إلا أنه يتمتع بمظهر مهيب وحضور قوي. ص. 4	إلا أنه ما زال يبدو خنزيراً مهيباً، ذا مظهر حكيم جيل على حب الخير للآخرين. ص. ٨	إلا أنه يبدو في مظهر لائق، متسامح. ص. ١٤
Overstatement Paraphrasing	Overstatement Paraphrasing	Overstatement Paraphrasing	Overstatement Paraphrasing	Overstatement Paraphrasing

Checking the five Arabic translations, it is found that all the translators follow the same technique used by the writer, which is equally euphemistic: redirecting the reader's mind towards the positive attributes of Old Major. In real life, this technique is very similar to 'a slap followed by a kiss'. However, it is worth mentioning that the word "pig" in Arabic has a more negative connotation, compared to its negative sense in English. In this regard, Ilyas (2013) maintains that in the translation of literary texts, prominence should be given to connotation, especially in connotative-charged texts. Although all the Arabic translators mitigated the negative connotative-charged senses by adding several positive words into the text, the Arabic word "خنزير" in the text violates the primary goal of an overstatement.

VI. DISCUSSION

This section has two folds: the first is statistical and the second is dedicated to interpreting the findings of the analysis to answer the two research questions. Statistically, the analysis shows that "Understatement" as a euphemism device occurs seven times representing 35% of the occurrences of euphemism in the novel, while the five translators maintain the same euphemism device all the time. Furthermore, "Overstatement" occurs four times in the novel, representing a percentage of 20% of all euphemisms. The five translators rendered overstatement 18 times using overstatement in Arabic, while overstatement is translated in a different way only two times, T2 omits the utterance once and T4 renders the utterance using the paraphrasing device. The euphemism device "Metonymy" is employed four times, accounting for 20% of the devices used in the ST. It has been rendered with metonymy in the Arabic translations, indicating that it is a shared property by both languages for the innovation of euphemism. Nonetheless, the device of "Implication" is used twice accounting for 10% of the ST devices. In the Arabic translations, it is noted that while T3 omits the device entirely, ignoring the utterances, T2 renders the device once as an equivalent TL implication and omits the utterance in the second occurrence. All the other translators render implication in SL as implication in TL. In addition, "Paraphrasing" occurs once as a euphemism device, accounting for 5% of all the occurrences in the ST. All the translators render this device as paraphrasing in the TT. The same applies also to the device of "Reversal", which occurs once representing 5% of the occurrences in the ST. Reversal is also translated into Arabic using the reversal device, without any exception. "Overstatement Paraphrasing" is a new device that occurs only once, accounting for 5% of the occurrences in the ST. It is also translated into Arabic by all the translators using the same device in the TL.

Table 3 below shows the euphemism devices, number of occurrences in the ST, and how they are translated into Arabic:

TABLE 3
EUPHEMISM DEVICES IN ST AND TT

DEVICE	ST	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
Understatement	7	7	7	7	7	7
Overstatement	4	4	3 + Omission	4	3 + Paraphrasing	4
Metonymy	4	4	4	4	4	4
Implication	2	2	1 + Omission	2 Omissions	2	2
Paraphrasing	1	1	1	1	1	1
Reversal	1	1	1	1	1	1
Overstatement Paraphrasing	1	1	1	1	1	1

Although there are 20 cases of euphemism in the ST, the analysis shows that the percentage of literal translations of these cases is 95% in the five translations, which means that literal translation is adopted in 95 cases, omission in 4 and changing the device from overstatement to paraphrasing only once. Table 4 below portrays the number and percentage of the occurrences of the euphemism devices in the ST and the percentage of literal translation for each device.

TABLE 4
EUPHEMISM DEVICES: OCCURRENCES AND LITERAL TRANSLATION

Sr.	Device	# of Occurrences in ST	% of Occurrences in ST	% of Literal Translation
1	Understatement	7	35%	100%
2	Overstatement	4	20%	90%
3	Metonymy	4	20%	100%
4	Implication	2	10%	70%
5	Paraphrasing	1	5%	100%
6	Reversal	1	5%	100%
7	Overstatement Paraphrasing	1	5%	100%
	Total	20	100%	95 %

Table 2 answers the first research question of this study. The second research question is: How far did the five Arabic translators succeed in conveying the euphemistic purposes of the ST, and what are the euphemism formation procedures used in their translations? After the analysis of the excerpts, the answer to this question rings a bell as summarized in the following points:

- 1- The translators tend to adopt a literal translation approach in most of the cases (95%), which highlights the universality of the phenomenon of euphemism, despite the cultural and linguistic differences between English and Arabic. While English and Arabic share the most common features of euphemism, according to Galal (2014), the two languages also differ in terms of emphasis and details. This difference can be barely felt in the Arabic translations, which rings a bell on the level of freedom a translator enjoys when translating a literary work.
- 2- The literal translation approach adopted by the five translators may be due to the effect of the English text on the translators. Zauberga (2005) argues that when cultures interact, translators tend to favor the major culture; this claim is augmented by the fact that the Arabic translators are working on a text written by a prominent novelist like Orwell. This rings another bell on the level of freedom the translator may have when tackling a prominent literary work.
- 3- Connotation is paramount in meaning, as euphemism entails terms that have different connotations in different languages, and this also rings another bell. For example, when Orwell selects pigs to be the leaders of the animals, the connotation of ‘pig’ in English and Arabic is different, although both languages use the word pig as an insult. In this regard, Mateo and Yus (2013) state that insults evolve through a connotative layer, i.e., a ‘pig’ denotes an animal but connotes being dirty and untidy, and meanwhile it is used metaphorically to refer to dirty manners. In Arabic, a pig is an animal that is prohibited to eat, from an Islamic perspective, and the Arabic name “خنزير/حلوفا” is used as an insult, with sexual and filthy connotations. Looking at the selection of pigs as the leaders in his allegorical satire, Orwell ridicules the three leaders of communism (animalism in the novel) and portrays them as stupid and greedy. On the other hand, in most Arabic-speaking countries, farms do not have pigs, but they have all the other animals mentioned in the novel. Instead, farms in the Arab world have donkeys, which have a connotation of stupidity in Arabic. Therefore, a suggested euphemism for ‘pig’ in *Animal Farm* can be ‘donkey’, as an adaptation technique, which may serve the same allegorical goals of the novel. In literature, the sky is the limit; by proxy, literary translation should have a wide margin of creativity, providing that the translated text remains faithful to the original idea.
- 4- In Excerpts 13 to 15, it is noted that all the translations ignore the nature of the language of the slogans, as they are written to be chanted. While the slogans are connected and evolve as the story develops, consistency of the wordings should be observed. The following table portrays suggested translations:

Excerpt #	English Euphemism	Suggested Translation
13	Whatever goes upon two legs is an enemy. Whatever goes upon four legs, or has wings, is a friend. P. 9	من يسير على رجلين عدو خطير الصدق يسير على أربع أو يطير
14	"Four legs good, two legs bad." P. 27	رائع من يسير على أربع - ومن يسير على رجلين مروع
15	"Four legs good, two legs BETTER!" P. 100	رائع من يسير على أربع - ومن يسير على رجلين أروع!

- 5- In Excerpt 18 that combines 2 euphemism devices, namely overstatement and paraphrasing, it is noted that the five translators render the device of paraphrasing literally, while they render overstatement in different ways, ranging from maintaining the overstatement device to omission. Unfortunately, there is no other example of using more than one device in the same utterance to verify that having more than one euphemistic device may free the translators from the literal approach.
- 6- In his 1992 model, Warren defines 8 categories of semantic innovation, namely: particularization, implication, metonymy, metaphor, reversal, understatement, overstatement, and paraphrasing. In the novel, there is no use of particularization and metaphor as euphemism devices, while the other 6 categories are used. In addition, there is one case of a device that is not classified as one of the eight devices, and therefore the researchers define it and call it "Overstatement Paraphrasing", which is a new category.

VII. CONCLUSION

This study investigates the processes used by George Orwell in the formation of euphemism in *Animal Farm* and examines how far five Arabic translators who have different nationalities with noticeable differences in their styles succeed in conveying the euphemistic purposes of the ST, and the euphemism formation procedures used in their translations. Because of its revolutionary nature that is more likely to use blunt language instead of evasive language, we could only trace twenty expressions of euphemism, and classified them based on Warren's 1992 model. The data confirm that euphemistic or dysphemistic meanings are relative classifications that can only be considered euphemistic, neutral or dysphemistic based on their contexts. Moreover, in spite of the common belief that literary translation tends to be mostly free, literal translation at this micro level of the text proved to accurately express the intended meanings of the euphemistic expressions. This conclusion may partially be generalized to recommend literal translation to be tested as a strategy for the rendering of other figurative expressions. Literally translated euphemisms, if accepted by users and widely used in the media and published translations, they are likely to become calques over time and find their way into the lexical corpus of the target language. Moreover, English and Arabic are found to employ exactly the same devices for euphemizing. An implication for this finding could be of great importance for machine translation researchers to consider for non-literal structures across English and Arabic such as similes and metaphors, among other rhetorical devices. Last but not least, the study also finds that Orwell uses a device that is not categorized in Warren's 1992 classification of euphemism construction and therefore it is defined and labelled as "Overstatement Paraphrasing".

The researchers recommend conducting similar studies on several language pairs, including English-Arabic, to verify the findings of this study regarding the literal translation of euphemism, and to concur the hypothesis of the universality of euphemism.

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